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of America and reaffirm what hopefully America really stands for, both here at home and in the world.

The resolution speaks for itself. I will read it, and that is all I will say at this particular moment:

S. RES. 148

Whereas, ours is a nation of immigrants and descendants of immigrants, many of whom fled from tyranny and bloodshed in their native lands where they were scorned, hated and hunted, and

Whereas, they came here because they knew they could find in America safety, freedom and opportunity, and

Whereas, they found all those things and more, for they also found America to be a land of compassion as well as affluence, magnanimity as well as wealth, and

Whereas, Americans welcomed these fellow, less-fortunate human beings not only for their sake but for our own, knowing that they strengthened our national vitality, constantly renewing the diversity and richness of our lives and the pluralism and dynamism of our society, and

Whereas, this periodic influx of refugees and exiles can serve to keep us humble, saving us from the sins of arrogance, pride and self-righteousness by reminding us of our origins, of the misery that abounds elsewhere in the world, and of the destiny that may also befall us should we betray our heritage, now therefore

Be it resolved, That the Senate reaffirms that the Statue of Liberty is, as Emma Lazarus called her, the Mother of Exiles; that the Senate reaffirms that the lesson of the parable of the Good Samaritan lives on in the minds and hearts of the American people and is a part of their character; and that the Senate welcomes warmly the latest exiles to our shores—the refugees from South Vietnam and Cambodia.

Mr. President, I send the resolution to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the resolution.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, since I have just read the resolution, I ask unanimous consent that the reading be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent—this has been discussed with the leadership on both sides—that at 2:30 p.m. today, this resolution be laid before the Senate and that the vote on the resolution occur at 3 p.m. today, after which the Senate will return to the consideration of the unfinished business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Michigan seek recognition?

Mr. GRIFFIN. No, Mr. President.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senator from South Dakota is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

HUMANITARIAN AND RESETTLEMENT ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES FROM INDOCHINA

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. President, the bill which I am introducing today to pro-

vide resettlement and humanitarian assistance to refugees from Indochina, differs in at least four ways from the bills already introduced.

First. The bill would limit the administration's aid request to \$127,000,000 for a period of 3 months following the date of enactment of this bill.

Second. This legislation would require that at the end of the 2 months, the administration report to Congress exactly how they are spending the refugee funds, how much more they need, and exactly why they need it. It requires a plan by the administration.

Third. It would provide funds to any Vietnamese or Cambodian refugee who has had a change of heart and who wishes to return to his or her homeland.

Finally, the bill would set a 1-year moratorium on all hiring by any U.S. intelligence agency or the Department of Defense of refugees who participated in the Operation Phoenix program.

The administration is using the figure of \$507 million, in addition to the \$98 million already appropriated for the Vietnamese refugees. The bills already introduced, however, provide for unlimited and open-ended funding for the President's program. If we accept about 130,000 refugees as the reports now state—and incidentally, I might add, Mr. President, that just yesterday, the administration announced its intention to increase its parole authority to 150,000—the sum requested by the administration breaks down to approximately \$4,000 per person, or \$16,000 for a family of four—which is a great deal more than needy Americans receive from any Government agency and infinitely more than we proposed in the farm bill which the President found "inflationary." Furthermore, we have preliminary reports that a large percentage of these refugees speak English and have American sponsors who have pledged to be responsible for them.

Because of our involvement and complicity in the war, it would be unfair and certainly errant to turn our backs on these people now that our involvement has ended. We ought to help the legitimate refugees, just as we have helped the hundreds of thousands of refugees from other parts of the world in years passed. What we ought not to do is to commit ourselves unnecessarily to a plan which is based on emotionalism and hastily prepared plans and statistics. There is no logical reason why this Congress must commit itself all the way through 1977 to decisions made within a few days' time. It is highly unusual for Congress to commit itself this far in advance, especially in a case such as this where many questions regarding the future are still unanswered. The State Department, for example, has indicated that a few refugees have indicated that they would like to return to their homeland. There may be more, and it should be the responsibility, of the U.S. Government to provide this kind of assistance to refugees as well.

The administration has failed to compile adequate data on the refugees and continues to provide inadequate and sketchy reports to Congress as to their

progress. But more important are the administration's appeals on behalf of refugees which in effect cover up for its behavior during the final shabby chapter of our involvement in Vietnam. Even though the fall of the Thieu government was seen as inevitable, the administration, through the Embassy in Saigon, did not prepare for an orderly evacuation as did our allied governments. Instead, it spread confusion and panic, well reported by CBS' Ed Bradley. Many of these refugees could have remained in Vietnam, as Senator MCGOVERN has so cogently explained, had a clear policy been followed by the administration. But just as we bungled into Vietnam, so we seem to have bungled out of it, ruining lives and upsetting possibilities for future reconciliation with the Vietnamese people.

This administration has turned its back on humanitarian aid for American farmers by vetoing Congress farm bill, by trying to extort additional money from the poor and elderly for food stamps, and by labeling various other congressional proposals to help Americans inflationary. This administration turned its back on refugees from fascism and barbarism in Chile and other countries; it shows little interest in stopping or protesting the widespread use of torture practiced by several of our so-called allies. The very people who dropped millions of tons of bombs on Vietnam, many of them hitting civilian targets in the north and south, those same policymakers who defoliated the countryside and pushed hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese from their villages, now call on Congress to pass a so-called humanitarian aid measure.

We are offering humanitarian aid to thousands of trained political assassins who operated the Phoenix program, for Vietnamese who corrupted their own society using American money, food, and equipment; for prostitutes, bar girls, pimps, and other undesirables; but we have refused asylum in this country for people who have tried to live honestly in other countries, but could not do so because of the antihumanitarian policies of some other governments, most of who obtain support from our Government. I am speaking of Soviet Jews, Palestinian refugees, refugees from Brazil, Chile, and other nations.

The same President who says that young Americans must earn their way back to the United States from Canada has denounced other American citizens who question admission of Vietnamese refugees.

We did not evacuate only those Vietnamese who were supposedly marked for death. We did not have such a list. Instead our Embassy spread panic among many sectors of the Vietnamese and, therefore, induced more to flee than might have done so under a more responsible policy. I call the administration to answer for its handling of this situation. I do not think that allocating more money in the way the administration suggests will solve anything.

Before we vote on appropriations of this magnitude and for this length of time, we ought to let the dust settle and

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emotions come down. I think it is about time we combined a little thought with our generous inclinations. Instead of continuing to bungle and bumble along, following the contradictory and capricious whims of the administration and other officials, that we rethink and re-plan our policy.

This bill is designed to do that, Mr. President. It provides the amount of money which the President has requested, but for a more rational time period. Circumstances and subsequent needs are bound to change within the next 2 months. I am convinced that Congress will be in a much better position to make further decisions and commitments after we have had the benefit of hindsight in 2 months' time.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1684

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as "The Vietnam and Cambodia Refugee Resettlement Assistance Act."

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this Act the term "refugee" shall be defined by section 2(b) (3) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended.

Sec. 3. There is authorized to be appropriated \$127,000,000 for a period of no more than ninety days for assistance to refugees from South Vietnam and Cambodia for the following purposes:

(a) for the construction and maintenance of refugee staging areas and processing facilities;

(b) for the processing and care of refugees, including food, medical care, clothing and shelter;

(c) for resettlement costs of volunteer agencies;

(d) for social services, welfare, Medicaid, bilingual and vocational education and public health;

(e) for transportation to third countries of refugees who need and desire such assistance;

(f) for transportation to Vietnam and Cambodia of refugees who wish to return to their homeland.

Sec. 4. (a) At the end of a period of sixty days following the date of enactment of this Act the President shall report to the appropriate Committees of Congress regarding the specific uses of the funds authorized by this Act, the need for additional funds should he deem such funds necessary and the specific purpose for which such additional funds are requested;

(b) At the end of the time period specified in Section 4(a) of this Act the President shall submit a report to the appropriate Committees of Congress containing all pertinent data regarding the occupations and backgrounds of the refugees;

(c) Prior to the expiration of the time period specified in Section 3 of this Act, the Congress shall consider the amount of additional funds to be used for the purposes of this Act and the duration of time in which such additional funds may be expended.

Sec. 5. (a) Upon the enactment of this Act, there shall be a one year moratorium on all hiring of refugees from South Vietnam who participated in the Operation Phoenix Program by any intelligence agency of the United States government or by the Department of Defense;

(b) In addition to the information required by Section 4(b) of this Act, the

President shall submit a report to the appropriate Committees of the Congress containing all pertinent information relative to refugees from South Vietnam who participated in the Operation Phoenix Program.

Mr. ABOUREZK. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Will the Senator from South Dakota yield for a question?

Mr. ABOUREZK. I am happy to yield to the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Under the bill he has just introduced, am I correct in assuming that there would be numbers of refugees who would not want to go back to South Vietnam because of concern about being killed, but, under the bill, would he be required to go back?

Mr. ABOUREZK. No, this bill does not require refugees to go anywhere.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Did not the Senator's bill—

Mr. ABOUREZK. If I might answer the Senator's question—

Mr. GRIFFIN. Did not his bill exclude—

Mr. ABOUREZK. Does the Senator wish me to answer the question or not?

Mr. GRIFFIN. I am asking, does not the bill—

Mr. ABOUREZK. I do not wish to yield further.

I yield back the remainder of my time, Mr. President.

Mr. GRIFFIN. May I be recognized, Mr. President?

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business of not to exceed 30 minutes, with statements thereon limited to 5 minutes.

The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

HUMANITARIAN AND RESETTLEMENT ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES FROM INDOCHINA

Mr. GRIFFIN. I was seeking to get an answer to the question whether the bill introduced by the Senator from South Dakota would preclude some of the South Vietnamese refugees from staying, and which ones. There was reference to those who had been associated with particular projects or activities, as I recall. I assume that those particular refugees could not stay and would have to go back.

I assume that because of their association with such projects or activities, those refugees might find themselves high on the death list of the Communist rulers in Vietnam. I wonder if I am mistaken?

Mr. ABOUREZK. Is the Senator asking me to respond to that?

Mr. GRIFFIN. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. ABOUREZK. Will the Senator yield enough time for a response?

Mr. GRIFFIN. Absolutely.

Mr. ABOUREZK. The bill does not establish any qualifications for admission of refugees. This bill provides that, instead of granting the administration an open-ended commitment for unlimited sums of money to resettle refugees, they

come back in 2 months' time with a plan. It requires that the administration return with a plan that will inform Congress exactly what it intends to do with the money and how it intends to resettle the refugees. It also requires a report on what is to be done with the thousands of hired political assassins in the Phoenix program who are reported to be among the refugees. It also sets a moratorium on the hiring of these people by U.S. intelligence agencies and the Defense Department.

Mr. GRIFFIN. But it would be the intention and contemplation of the Senator from South Dakota that he would oppose any plan that did not exclude and send out those refugees to whom he has made reference; is that right?

Mr. ABOUREZK. Let me inform the Senator of my position, if that is what he is asking.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Yes, I am trying to find out.

Mr. ABOUREZK. All right. I will be happy to tell him.

Although the bill which I have just introduced does not deal with this, I would oppose the admission into this country of any hired political assassin if I know that is what he is. I do not want to allow the possibility of hired political assassins coming into the United States and choosing American citizens as their next targets.

Does the Senator from Michigan want that?

Mr. GRIFFIN. No. I thoroughly agree, insofar as anyone can be identified in that category.

Mr. ABOUREZK. I am glad that the Senator agrees with me.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Now let us talk about the South Vietnamese refugees who happened to work in the office of the U.S. Army or the CIA, and suppose the Army or the CIA may have engaged in certain military activities with which the Senator from South Dakota may not approve and did not approve.

As I understand the Senator's explanation he would send those refugees back. He would not characterize those people as hired political assassins, would he?

Mr. ABOUREZK. Neither my speech nor my bill deals with sending anybody back.

Mr. GRIFFIN. There was reference to some associated with a Phoenix project. I wonder what the Senator meant by that?

Mr. ABOUREZK. Those are the political assassins, the people associated with the program whose objective was to assassinate opponents of President Thieu.

Mr. GRIFFIN. The Senator also made reference to defoliation.

Mr. ABOUREZK. Yes.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Was he referring to any South Vietnamese who worked for a U.S. agency that had anything to do with that project, also?

Mr. ABOUREZK. No, I did not include that category.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I thought the Senator did make reference to that.

Mr. ABOUREZK. I referred to defoliation in terms of the administration now asking for humanitarian aid. The same